

Message Text

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46

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 ISO-00 AID-05 OMB-01 EB-07 COME-00

TRSE-00 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 IGA-01 CIEP-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 MC-02 IO-10 /092 W
----- 038486

R 251531Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8105

INFO USIA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

EUCOM

CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN

CINCSOUTH

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR MASS TU US CY

SUBJ: FONMIN ESENBEL'S UPI INTERVIEW ON AID CUTOFF, CYPRUS

1. UPI CORRESPONDENT JOHN LAWTON HAS PROVIDED US FOLLOWING
VERBATIM TEXT OF INTERVIEW WITH FONMIN ESENBEL FEBRUARY 24:

BEGIN TEXT:

Q. WILL THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT ORDER U.S. BASES IN TURKEY
CLOSED DOWN IN RETALIATION TO THE U.S. CONGRESSIONAL AID AND
ARMS CUTOFF?

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A. THIS AID CUTOFF REPRESENTS FOR US THAT THE UNITED STATES

IS WITHDRAWING SOME OF ITS COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE AID FOR TURKEY TO BE ABLE TO SUSTAIN ITS MILITARY EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF NATO. IF THE AID IS WITHDRAWN OBSIOUSLY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SUSTAIN THE SAME KIND OF PREPAREDNESS AS FAR AS NATO DEFENSE IS CONCERNED. WE ARE NOW ON THE WAY TO STUDYING WHAT STEPS WE SHOULD TAKE, THE MILITARY TOGETHER WITH THE CIVILIANS. WE ARE PERFECTING A NEW READJUSTMENT SYSTEM UNDER WHICH IT MAY BE THAT WE WOULD BE FORCED TO START ON THIS ROAD, ALTHOUGH RELUCTANTLY. THE FINAL DECISION AS OF NOW IS NOT YET MADE, OUR READJUSTMENT POSITIONS HAVE NOT YET BEEN COMPLETED.

1. THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION WAS DESIGNED TO FORCE TURKEY TO RELINQUISH NORTHERN CYPRUS. WILL TURKEY BOW TO THIS PRESSURE?

A. I HOPE, STILL, THAT THIS IS NOT THE INTENTION OF THE U.S. CONGRESS. I STILL WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE FRIENDS (OF TURKEY) IN THE U.S. CONGRESS WHO KNOW ABOUT TURKEY AND KNOW VERY WELL ABOUT THE MAJOR ROLE THAT TURKEY IS PLAYING WITHIN NATO. BUT IF THIS IS INDEED THE ACTION OF CONGRESS THEN THE ANSWER WILL CERTAINLY BE NO. BUT I HOPE THAT THIS IS NOT THE INTENTION OF CONGRESS. AFTER ALL THERE ARE TURKS LIVING THERE AND THEY HAVE STARTED A NEW SYSTEM, A FEDERATED STATE HAS BEEN FORMED, WHICH WILL BE A PART OF THE FUTURE FEDERATION WHICH WOULD BE FORMED BY THE TURKISH FEDERATED STATE, AND, IF THEY ARE AGREEABLE, BY THE GREEK FEDERATED STATE. THIS IS NOT A MOVEMENT TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE BUT A MOVE TOWARD A FEDERATION.

Q. IF AMERICAN AID AND ARMS SHIPMENTS WERE RESUMED WOULD ALL BE FORGOTTEN, OR HAVE TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS BEEN PERMANENTLY HARMED?

A. UNFORTUNATELY SOMETHING WILL REMAIN. THE BASIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO PEOPLES CERTAINLY HAS BEEN HARMED TO SOME EXTENT BECAUSE THE TURKISH PEOPLE FEEL THAT THEY ARE INJURED IN THEIR SENTIMENTS TOWARDS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THAT WOULD MEAN THEY HAVE PROBABLY LOST SOME OF THEIR CONFIDENCE THEY HAD IN THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT--THE CREDIBILITY OF THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AMERICAN COMMITMENT WITHIN NATO. THE MATTER COULD BE CLEARED UP, BUT UNFORTUNATELY SOMETHING WILL REMAIN, THAT WILL REMIND THEM OF THIS UNFORTUNATE PERIOD CONSTANTLY.

Q. COULD THE AMERICAN ACTION RESULT IN WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO AND REALIGNMENT WITH THE THIRD WORLD?

A. NO, NO, WE HAVE MADE THAT POINT CLEAR.

Q. IS IT TRUE--AS SOME TURKISH NEWSPAPERS HAVE REPORTED
--THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS OFFERED TO REPLACE HALTED
AMERICAN ARMS AND AID?

A. THE ANSWER IS NO. THERE IS NO SUCH AN OFFER THAT WAS
MADE TO TURKEY.

Q. WHEN YOU SAY TURKEY IS REVIEWING ITS COMMITMENT TO
NATO, WHAT IS TURKEY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE AMERICAN BASES
THAT ARE NOT PART OF NAYO?

A. I MEANT THE BI-LATERAL RELATIONSHIP. THESE ARE JOINT
DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS, BUT ONE WAY OR THE OTHER THEY ALSO
SERVE NATO IN THE DEFENSE STRUCTURE, BUT THE JOINT DEFENSE
INSTALLATIONS WOULD BE THE FIRST SUBJECT OF READJUSTMENT.
THESE ARE THE FIRST STEPS WE MAYBE WOULD BE OBLIGED TO TAKE
BECAUSE THESE JOINT DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS ARE HERE UNDER THE
BILATERAL TREATY ARRANGEMENTS OF 1969 UNDER WHICH THE UNITED
STATES HAS ASSUMED A COMMITMENT FOR PROVIDING AID TO TURKEY.
IF THE AID IS NOT FORTHCOMING THEN THE UNITED STATES IS IN
DEFAULT.

ON THE OTHER HAND ARTICLE THREE OF THE NATO TREATY.
WHICH IS BINDING FOR ALL MEMBERS, IS TO THE EFFECT THAT ALLIED
COUNTRIES SHOULD HELP EACH OTHER, WHEREAS THE
UNITED STATES THROUGH THIS CONGRESSIONAL ACTION HAS STARTED

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PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 MC-02 IO-10 /092 W
----- 038198

R 251531Z FEB 75

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A NEW SYSTEM WHERE AN EMBARGO IS BEING ENFORCED AGAINST TURKEY. WELL, WE FEEL A COUNTRY CANNOT ENFORCE AN EMBARGO AGAINST A FRIENDLY COUNTRY. AN EMBARGO REALLY IS MADE FOR COUNTRIES THAT ARE NOT FRIENDLY COUNTRIES. YOU CAN ENFORCE AN EMBARGO AGAINST AN ENEMY BUT YOU DON'T DO IT TO A FRIEND. IN THESE TWO INSTANCES THE UNITED STATES IS IN DEFAULT.

Q. AND IN VIEW OF THIS DEFAULT TURKEY MIGHT BE FORCED TO ASK THE AMERICAN TO CLOSE DOWN THESE BASES?

A. IF WE ARE NOT ABLE TO SUSTAIN OUR EFFORTS, YES, BECAUSE THESE JOINT DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS MEAN THAT TURKEY HAS TO ASSUME ADDITIONAL RISK. WELL, THE ADDITIONAL RISK HAS BEEN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ASSUMED IN THE EXPECTATION THAT ADDITIONAL AID WAS TO BE FORTHCOMING. NOW, IF THE AID ELEMENT OF THIS BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IS WITHDRAWN, THEN WHAT REMAINS IS REALLY THE ADDITIONAL RISK FOR TURKEY WITHOUT RECEIVING ADEQUATE HELP. SO THIS IS AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT SUBJECT. THE NEXT STEP WOULD BE FOR NATO TO REVIEW THE WHOLE SITUATION, WHETHER NOW THERE IS A GAP IN THE SOUTHEASTERN FLANK OF NATO. THEN NATO HAS TO COME FORWARD WITH AN ANSWER TO THAT IF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT READY TO DO SO WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF NATO. THEN IF NO REMEDIAL ACTION IS NOT TAKEN THEN TURKEY HAS TO REVIEW ITS CONTRIBUTION TO NATO.

Q. DO YOU STILL SEE A ROLE FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER IN CYPRUS PEACE NEGOTIATIONS?

A. WELL I THINK HE CERTAINLY HAS A ROLE TO PLAY AND HE HAS THE GOODWILL TO PLAY A ROLE. BUT THE FIRST TIME, IN NOVEMBER, WHEN HE WAS SUPPOSED TO COME HERE, BECAUSE OF THE CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT IT WAS FELT IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE. NOW FOR ME TO MEET HIM IN BONN IN FEBRUARY, I FELT I WOULD NOT REALLY BE USEFUL FOR US TO MEET BECAUSE I KNEW HE WOULD NOT

BE ABLE TO PROVIDE A POSITIVE ANSWER TO OUR REQUIREMENTS. A MEETING THAT IS NOT WELL PREPARED, WHICH IS NOT TO BRING OUT A RESULT, THEN I THINK IT IS BETTER NOT TO MEET. SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER WAS NOT READY TO DO ANYTHING LAST TIME WHEN HE SUGGESTED WE SHOULD MEET.

Q. WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE NEXT STEP THEN IN A CYPRUS PEACE SETTLEMENT?

A. ONE POINT SHOULD BE CLEAR NOW THAT THE TURKS THERE, WHO HAVE SUFFERED A LOT FROM THE GREEKS DURING THESE PAST 22 YEARS, THEY HAD TO FACE A THREAT OF ANNEXATION TO GREECE IN 63, 67 AND AGAIN IN 74, WHICH WAS COUPLED WITH A THREAT OF THEIR ANNIHILATION. THERE IS ONE FACTOR THAT IS VERY CLEAR, THEY JUST CAN'T LIVE TOGETHER WITH THE GREEKS, MIXED WITH THEM AS BEFORE, PRIOR TO 1963, SO FOR THE PAST 12 YEARS ANYWAY THEY WERE LIVING A SEPARATE LIFE, BUT UNDER A VERY HEAVY ECONOMIC BURDEN BECAUSE THEY WERE LIVING IN ENCLAVES SURROUNDED BY GREEKS. NOW THEY ARE IN SAFER SITUATION BECAUSE THEY ARE ALL WERE ABLE TO GET TOGETHER AND SETTLE DOWN IN THEIR OWN AREA IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE NORTH. THERE MAY BE SOME 8,000 STILL LIVING IN THE SOUTH BUT SOMEHOW THEY COULD BE SETTLED IN THE NORTH AS PART OF A FINAL SETTLEMENT. THEY WANT TO LIVE A SEPARATE LIFE BUT ALONGSIDE THE GREEKS AS THEY WOULD ONLY BE ONE PART OF THE FUTURE FEDERAL STATE.

Q. HOW LONG DO YOU THINK THIS SEPARATE FEDERATED STATE CAN BE SUSTAINED ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY? IS TURKEY WILLING TO KEEP ON PUMPING IN AID?

A. WE HAVE TO GIVE THEM AID, CERTAINLY, AS MUCH AS THEY WILL NEED. OF COURSE IT IS A BIG EFFORT FOR TURKEY. WE HAVE BEEN DOING THAT ANYWAY SINCE THE INDEPENDENCE OF CYPRUS, AT LEAST SINCE 1960. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND I THINK THEY MAY NOW REORGANIZE THEIR WHOLE ECONOMIC LIFE WITHIN THAT FEDERATED STATE THEY HAVE FORMED AND IT MAY BE THEY WILL NEED SOMEWHAT LESS AID FROM TURKEY IS THEY CAN GET ORGANIZED IN THEIR OWN SECTOR.

Q. IT HAS BEEN REPORTED THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT CONSIDER THE EGYPTIAN POLICY ON CYPRUS AS FAVORING THE GREEKS. IS THIS TRUE AND IF YES WILL THIS AFFECT TURKEY POLICY TOWARDS THE MIDDLE EAST?

A. I DON'T REALLY THINK SO. THE EGYPTIANS HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY THAT THEY WERE NOT AGAINST TURKEY AND THEY WANTED TO KEEP THE TURKISH FRIENDSHIP INTACT. TURKEY IS VERY GENUINELY INTERESTED IN PEACE BETWEEN THE ARABS AND ISRAEL.

THEY HAVE APPRECIATED THE MORAL SUPPORT WE HAVE GIVEN THEM
AND BASICALLY THEY SAY THEY ARE NOT AGAINST TURKEY, BUT FOR
SOME REASONS OF THEIR OWN, AND I THINK THEY ARE MAINLY
DERIVING FROM BEING A MEMBER OF THE NON-ALIGNED WORLD,
THEY HAVE TO MAKE SOME STATEMENTS TO PLEASE THE NON-ALIGNED
WORLD. THEY FEEL THAT BECAUSE THEY ARE PART OF THE NON-ALIGNED
WORLD THEY HAVE TO--SOMETIMES THEIR STATEMENTS SHOULD REFLECT
THIS. BUT THEY HAVE ASSURED US THAT THEY ARE NOT AGAINST ANY
ACTION BY TURKEY. THAT SHOULD MEAN THEY ARE NOT SUPPORTING
THEIR MOSLEM BROTHER LIVING IN CYPRUS.

REMARKS AT END:

"WE ARE NOT BLUFFING, WE ARE NOT BLACKMAILERS. WE WILL NOT
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THREATEN TO WITHDRAW FROM THE MILITARY STRUCTURE OF NATO AS
THE GREEKS DID."

END TEXT.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY ASSISTANCE, POLICIES, TEXT, PRESS CONFERENCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 FEB 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: MorefiRH
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975ANKARA01595
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750066-0372
From: ANKARA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750216/aaaaaohp.tel
Line Count: 301
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MorefiRH
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 MAY 2003 by MartinML>; APPROVED <07 MAY 2003 by MorefiRH>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FONMIN ESENBEL'S UPI INTERVIEW ON AID CUTOFF, CYPRUS
TAGS: PFOR, MASS, TU, US, CY, (ESENBEL, MELIH)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006